1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ɛwɛ'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ɛwɛ'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

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Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with
[272] "sugar" from the sugar pine in it. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative
[263] effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she
[761] will break her leg or her back.
[752]

[783] 7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men going to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day
574 after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second men-
[178] struation. The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time. 595

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of present to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicity said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo." 58 [593] [601] [606]

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1910. 177 585

Death

Death (deyŭliyi?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return." 761 753 732 888

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."

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Mourning took place around the grave. Both male and female relatives cut their hair short and buried the hair clippings. Ashes were smeared on the mourners' heads. All mourners would abstain from washing until the [515] mourning was over and then would take a bath. The people cried, wailed, and spoke to the deceased saying "You are dead now. I'll never see you again. My wife [or other appropriate term of address], I don't want to see you any more. We can't talk like we used to. Don't make any noise outside our house. You live under the ground. We don't want to see you any more."

[775] It is reported that if you did not appear sorry the spirit would come and take you or another relative away with him. The mourning ceremony might last up to four days. After that most of the people attending would wash and be finished. But the wife or husband of the deceased is reported to have remained in mourning for a considerably longer time, perhaps a year or more. There was a permanent taboo against speaking the name of the deceased in [551] front of the deceased's close relatives.

765 824 789

Hank Pete said that one way to get a deceased person out of your mind and to stop hearing his voice was to hang a pendant of manzanita berries from the lobe of the ear. The berries were tied with sinew through a hole made in the lobe.

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Susie Dick told Dangberg (1919, 5-6) of the following funeral.

"Susie's niece died Thursday, August 7th. On Friday Susie went to the funeral. . . . This dead woman's grandfather was a doctor. He kept trying to give her a dream, but she would not believe it and died as a result. [787] [761]

"Her funeral will be conducted in this way. The people will all gather about the corpse. The relatives will wail. Those of the spectators who do not join in this will be forced to do so by the relatives.

764 775

"A doctor will address them and when they grow tired standing he will permit them to sit down. Everyone present will go touch the corpse and repeat in so doing a short exhortation to the spirit: 'Go away,' 'Do not bother us,' etc. At this time each person will lay a handkerchief, a piece of money, etc., upon the corpse an an offering to the spirit to make it content [782] to stay away. Finally the people will take the corpse to the burial ground and bury it. Susie said, 'There is such a ground near Woodfords. One can hear the dead Indians singing and speaking there.'

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street."

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this acculturation study.[a] To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also aided the diffusion.

As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote.[b] Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times.[c] Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans.[d] Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is better than Protestantism, although similar."[e]

Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

[a] The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

[b] See Appendix III for statistics.

[c] Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[d] Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

[e] Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

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played in 1920 when the Mission Record of the Baptist Mission reported: "Joaquin Brown, our Sunday School Chieftain, said, 'I have been very happy today. While I was doing chores I sang Nearer My God to Thee. I felt all day that my life had been changed.'" But when Joaquin visited each family on Fallon Reservation soliciting money for a peyote meeting and demanding attendance, his neighbors only remembered his violent fits of temper, which had provoked him to club a cow to death, cut out a horse's tongue, permanently cripple his son by flogging, and murder his wife with an ax. Although Joaquin had been released from prison because of model behavior after serving two years of his ten-year sentence, most of the Indians feared him. Apprehension heightened when he was converted to peyotism and excitedly attempted to convey his belief to others. In peyote visions he saw his criminal acts, and thinking other peyotists also saw his hallucinations, he talked freely of his crimes. He wished all men to eat the cactus, be cured, and start life anew. When his desire to advance the religion prompted him to threaten white merchants who refused to contribute large sums to the cause, he was arrested and tried for insanity. Indians, fearing retaliation, declined to testify against him and Joaquin was pronounced sane. Local authorities, however, thought him too dangerous to go free; consequently, he was tried and convicted of incest. The man whom Joaquin accused of being the father of his daughter's child died a year before the infant's birth; and Joaquin confessed in peyote meetings to having had sexual relations with his daughter. Under the influence of peyote, Joaquin's son also confessed to incestous relations with his sister.

Emma D. Powell (P,1) and Sara Baker (P,5) were sent to institutions after attending peyote meetings, and Wally Johns (W,9) was probably eligible for one if accounts of her actions are true. Altogether, seven were judged by the unconverted as completely crazy because of peyote, and three others as temporarily deranged. Two women in the latter category were charged with attempting infanticide. Also, several nonpeyotists accused members of looking and acting irrationally after meetings. When carefully questioned, objectors admitted that most peyotists who became "permanently" unbalanced were "very queer" before eating peyote; and in all cases but one, government records revealed long histories of mental instability. The exception was Henry Jack, named by only three as an example of peyote-caused insanity, yet possessing unmistakable delusions of grandeur, believing himself the son of God and ruler of all western Indians. Johnny Cleveland and five nonpeyotists equate peyote and "muipu" (*Datura meteloides* D. C., or something similar), which, they had heard, made California Indians crazy."

That peyote kills is frequently asserted. It is said that all who had used peyote with Leo Okio died within five years, that all Goshute peyote users died, that three McDermitt Indians died after eating it, and that twenty Washo and Paiute Indians died after using peyote during the first two years of Ben's cult. Two Indians expired in meetings, a half dozen others shortly after, the rest several months after using peyote. So loud were these accusations that government doctors made three postmortems to see if death may have resulted from administration of some drug besides peyote. All believers allegedly killed by peyote demonstrably suffered from disease or senility which might at any moment have brought death and which figured as the cause in official reports. It is probable, however, that the rigors of peyote meetings hastened the deaths of a few dangerously ill individuals." Except when persistently

[14] See Steward, 1933, 318, for use of Jimson weed in Owens Valley. Some similarities with peyote are striking.

[15] La Barre reports (114) that one Cheyenne opposed peyote because it was used "to witch people and make them crazy" and that a Kiowa apostatized because her daughter died in spite of a peyote ritual.

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interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals.[a]

Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.

Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[b] Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[c] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult.[d]

For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue.[e] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[f]

Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[g] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

[a] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[b] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[c] Petrullo writes, "... a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[d] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[e] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[f] La Barre, 72.

[g] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."